verbal contest, and to hear at intervals a cheering and clapping as they shouted "Point! Point!" which English word they had adopted for applauding a telling thrust. This interest in wit enabled our lecturers to enliven their discourses with spontaneous humour rather than to draw upon a perennial stock of jokes. There were both serious and frivolous uses of this privilege. We had two serious old Burmese lecturers —Saya Lin and Saya Pwa—who belonged to my grandfather's world, coming to lecture every day in the purest Burmese but never noticing the existence of the modern college, its young inhabitants or other branches of learning. They were regarded with so much veneration that no student ever answered the now universally adopted English "Present" to their roll-call but replied: "*Shi ba tè, Saya :* I am here, please, Master."

At one time Saya Lin's junior Bachelor classes contained a girl student who was admired by a young man called Maung Chan Tha (which name means "Prosperity"). Maung Chan Tha had passed his junior Bachelor year and was in a senior class, but he attended the junior class daily in order to have a back view of his loved one whom he did not dare to address. This dumb worship occasioned a daily distraction among the embarrassed girl and her companions and a lot of ribald comments from the back benches. Saya Lin continued oblivious of all this until one day the term, "*paw-rana saga :* descriptive old usage", occurred in his text. "Now, shall I explain to you what *paw-rana saga* is?" said Saya Lin. "It is the other name for an object or an animal, which must describe its qualities. We have the pig, which in paw-rana may be termed *to-pwa* : prolific increase ; and then we have the ox. The ox", said the old man with a fierce denouncing arm pointed at the offending swain, "may be termed Prosperity—*Chan Tha!*" At which a hundred lusty throats yelled "Point ! Point !" and the discomfited Maung Chan Tha fled, never to attend a junior class again.

When the strikers of 1936 attacked the moral influence of a young member of the staff, one of the 18 serious charges they formally laid to his account was his habit of punning with the names of young lady students in too playful a manner. Among his students were two pretty sisters whose names, A-si and A-yi, could mean respectively, "in a row" and "smiling", a Christian girl called Margaret who was serious enough but whose name pronounced in Burmese scanned and rhymed with a word denoting excessive frivolity, and a noisy Chinese girl called Ma Ngan Chu. Said the poetic lecturer in illustrating various points :

Myet-lon galay ga ta-kyi-kyi	Little eyes, clear, beguiling,
Thwa galay ga a-si a-yi.	Little teeth, *seried, smiling.*
Kalet tet-tet	Coquette, coquette,
Mar-ga-ret.	*Margaret.*

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4
Lower Burma

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In recognition of this new-gained power the novice drops his secular name and receives a bwè, an honorific title, to mark that it is now open to him to escape from suffering. The name lapses when he returns to the world again, but it is sufficient that he has once borne it. He may now add to his kan, merit, and gain for himself a glorious new life by good works.

[198] This is what is meant by calling the ceremony a baptism. The bwè are almost invariably Pali, or Burmanised Pali names, and follow the same rules with regard to initial letters as the lu nāmé. Thus a Maung Po Myat, born on Thursday, might take the name of Pyinya-Zawta, while the bwè of a Sunday child, Maung An, would be Adesa. This religious or Buddhist (on the analogy of Christian) name is, of course, retained by the regular members of the monastery, and a monk is never addressed by any other when a name is used at all. When he becomes old a U is added, as U Adesa, but it must not be forgotten that

● [576] the use of a person's name in addressing him is considered very far from being polite in Burma, especially to one of rank and dignity such as a mendicant. On the other hand, one who has returned to the world never uses the bwè, not even when he accomplishes some great religious work such as the foundation of a pagoda, which according to a comforting belief ensures passage to Ne'ban after death.

The entry into the monastic order is therefore certainly the most important event in the life of a Burman, since only under the robe of the recluse and in the abandonment of the world can he completely fulfil the law and hope to find the way to eventual deliverance from the misery of ever-recur-

[796] ring existences. The popular time for the ceremony is just at the beginning of Wā, the Buddhist Lent, which lasts from July to October, roughly speaking. Strict Buddhists make their sons stay throughout the whole Wā. During that season feasts, though they do occur, are very much discountenanced, and dramatic performances are energetically denounced by the religious.

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According to the letter of the law the intending probationers should have reached the age of fifteen, but this regulation has almost entirely lapsed in Lower Burma, among other reasons chiefly because that is just the most

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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important age for the boy to be learning English and arithmetic, with a view to getting situations under Government or in English merchants' offices. Therefore in the vast majority of cases shin-pyu thi takes place at the age of twelve, or perhaps even a year earlier.

If the boy has been a scholar in the monastery beforehand, he is sure to be already prepared in all that is required of him. If not, he gets a few hasty lessons in the duties that will be incumbent on him. He must address a full member of the order in such and such language; he must walk decorously through the streets, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground six feet before him, and on no account gaze round him, no matter what exciting events may be going on; he must wear his thingan and du-gut in the prescribed fashion; he must eat with dignity and circumspection, and so on. All these details are set forth in most minute fashion in a code. When he has mastered the most essential portions, and has also given proof of an acquaintance with the ordinary forms of worship, all is ready. His horoscope now comes into requisition, and a bedinsayā or Ponna is called in to determine a lucky day and hour from the sadā. When this has been settled, three or four girls, the intending koyin-gale's sisters, or friends of the family, dress themselves up in their finest silks and jewels—often borrowing a large quantity of the latter—and go round the town, announcing to all relatives, friends, and neighbours when the induction will take place, and inviting them to the feast, presenting the little packet of le'-pet usual on such occasions. Almost all of these send some little present, either of money or victuals, to aid in the feast and make it as grand as possible. Not unseldom, if somebody else's son is also going to enter the kyaung and the town is not very large, the two join forces, while occasionally as many as half a dozen unite, especially if the families are not well off.

On the appointed day the young neophyte dresses in his finest clothes, and loads himself with all the family gold chains and jewellery, and as much more as he can borrow for the occasion. He then mounts a pony or gets into a richly decorated car. Shaded by gold umbrellas, allowed formerly on this occasion only in Upper Burma, except to those who had got a special patent for them from the sovereign...

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

517 silks for their wives. The ordinary explanation is that every one can see what clothes you wear, while few people care to come and spy out what kind of a house you live in, and how you fare. But there can be very little doubt that the real reason is a survival of the idea of the old Yāzagaing, as well as the fact that long years of custom have impressed upon everybody the opinion that there are only two forms of architecture, the secular and the ecclesiastical, and no one, no matter how sure he might be that the Government would take no notice of his ambition, would brave the denunciations of the religious by adding a spire to his house, or even adorning the gable ends with carved pinnacles and flamboyant finials of the monasteries. Consequently the one regular form prevails everywhere.

565 342 641

342 576 The Burman's dwelling, then, is always shaped more or less like a marquee tent, and never more than one storey high, to avoid the humiliating possibility of the feet of some one being over your head. But the whole house stands on posts, so that the floor is seven or eight feet from the ground. It consists often of only one room, usually, however, of two or more, and to the front of the house there is always a verandah, three or four feet lower than the general level of the house, and as often as not quite open to the street, or the garden, or whatever may be in front and always to the sky. The posts which form the main or central part of the house are usually six in number, and all have their names, such as Uyu, Kya-hngan, Nyaung-yan. The south post, in the main part of the house, the Thabye-taing, is the best known, as being always adorned with leaves and particularly marked as that in the top of which most probably lives the nat-spirit of the house. A dead body, after being swathed, and while waiting for the coffin, is always placed by it.

[551] 353 776 [764]

341 787 A house ought never to be built till the foundations have been thoroughly dug up and shown to a soothsayer. He will determine, from the substances found, whether it is a lucky place to build a house in or not. It stands to reason that the building cannot be commenced till a lucky day and hour have been sought out. There is considerable care to be observed in the selection of the timber. Posts are masculine, feminine, and neuter. Male posts are of equal size at both

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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elaborate adornments, there is little doubt found their origin in the opportunity which wood gave for the development of ornament in the way of carving. If the wooden monasteries are compared with the strikingly similar wooden churches in Norway—at Hitterdal, for example, or Borgund—we have a proof that nature, under like circumstances, always produces like results from human ingenuity. It may be added that the simple tumulus, which was the original idea of the bell-pagoda, is also found in the Scandinavian *haug*.

The kyaung accommodation is very simple. It consists in the main of a great central hall divided into two portions, one level with the verandah where the scholars are taught, and most of the duties of the monastery carried on, and the other a raised dais, two feet or so above the level of the rest of the building. Seated upon this the yahans are accustomed to receive visitors, and at the back, against the wall, are arranged the images of Buddha, a large one usually standing in the centre on a kind of altar with candles, flowers, praying flags, and other offerings placed before it, and on shelves alongside a number of smaller figures of gold, silver, alabaster, clay or wood, according to the popularity of the kyaung and the faith of the neighbourhood. Close by are placed also the manuscript chests, sadaiks, small shrines, models in wood of monasteries and pagodas, the fans and other religious implements of the pyin-sin and the gifts of the pious, heaped together ordinarily in very careless fashion. The central image is almost invariably placed on the eastern side of the building. There are occasionally dormitories for the monks, but as a rule they sleep in the central hall, where the mats which form their beds may be seen rolled up round the pillow against the wall. In many monasteries there is a special room for the palm-leaf scribes, often detached from the main building, as are the cook-room and the bathing-houses.

The whole area of the extensive compound in which the monastery stands is enclosed by a heavy teak fence with massive squared posts and rails, seven or eight feet high. All within this parawun is sacred ground, and the laity, when they enter, take off their shoes and carry them in their hands. This rule applies to the highest in the land, and when a

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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Shan prince or a high official arrives on his elephant, he must dismount at the monastery gate, and come in reverently barefooted. Within the one encircling fence there may be, and usually are, quite a number of separate buildings like that described, with their ecclesiastical roofs towering up, dark, or glittering with gold-leaf among the bright green foliage of the pipul and tamarind trees. Each house has a prior or superior, with his two or three brethren, and a certain number of probationers and scholars, and in the central building dwells the gaing-ôk, or sadaw. In a corner of the compound, or just outside, there is almost always a thein, a building for the performance of various rites and ceremonies, more particularly for the examination and ordination of yahans. The ground on which these stand is not only holy now, but has always been so since the Lord Buddha first preached the Law. When a new thein is to be built it is usually found possible to exhume the remains of an old building of the same kind, thus proving the immemorial sanctity of the site. Otherwise the ground is dedicated to religion in perpetuity. The consecration of the ground is, however, rare in these latter times, though several times the British Government has been asked to make a formal grant of land, to be used for religious purposes. Not far from Rangoon, in the neighbourhood of the Kyaik-ka-san pagoda, there is a thein-gyi, regarded as particularly holy, from the tradition that it is built over the remains of one of the yahanda, who brought the remains of Shin Gautama to Rangoon.

Within the monastery precincts are usually, also, one or two tasaungs, highly ornamented tectums, erected over an image of the Buddha. Very many zealous priors put up marble stones, or finger-posts, at certain points beyond the Parawun, with inscriptions on them to the effect that U Adcisa's or Pyinyazawta's monastery is to the westward, or southward, and you must not kill animals or conduct yourself in an unseemly manner near it. It is the ignoring or the ignorance of this injunction which has brought many sporting Englishmen into trouble, and led them to believe that the yahans condemn shooting altogether, and lay themselves out to thwart it; whereas the intention is only to avoid witnessing, if possible, what they regard as a flagrant

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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sin, and especially to protect the pigeons, which usually flock about the monastic trees. Not many people in England would think of going to shoot in a churchyard.

The majority of kyaungs in the jungle and in the smaller towns are plain teak wood, or brick and lime structures, with more or less ornate carving and moulding, and interior decorations; but to see the really gorgeous ecclesiastical buildings one must journey to Mandalay. There the Kyaung-daw-gyi, the Royal Monastery, is the most striking collection of edifices of their kind to be seen in the world. At the foot of Mandalay Hill, just outside the eastern gate of the city, it extends over an area of a good many acres. Every building in it is magnificent; every inch carved with the ingenuity of a Chinese toy; the whole ablaze with gold-leaf and a mosaic of fragments of looking-glass, embedded in a resinous gum, while the zinc roofs glisten like silver in the sun, and the golden bells on the gable spires tinkle melodiously with every breeze. The huge posts are gilt all over, or covered with a red lacquer; the eaves and gables represent all kinds of fantastic and grotesque figures. The interior is no less elaborate, the panels of wall and ceiling are some carved, some diapered with the mosaic mirror work, glistening like polished metal with a rough gold mesh net thrown over it. The wood-carving is particularly fine; the effect in some places, where the birds, pecking, taking wing, alighting, and in every other variety of attitude, are so cut as to appear to underlie the profuse flower tracery, being especially clever. The amount of gilding, spread thickly over every part of the kyaung, alone represents many hundred pounds. Singular from its plain unadorned appearance is the high, brown teak-wood tower in one corner, to which the Sadaw-gyi and his monks occasionally withdraw, to devote themselves to contemplation and the task of learning to know themselves and the khandas, as well as the Seit and the Seikdathit. For this withdrawal from their gorgeous surroundings, to indulge in abstract thought, they have the example and precept of the Lord Buddha himself, who, even when he reposed as a babe on the bosom of his aunt Gautami, gave himself over to contemplation.

The whole of the flat land between Mandalay Hill and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the city walls was formerly covered with monasteries, each of them standing separate and enclosed within its own parawun, and almost all presided over by a sadaw, a monk of the highest rank. They were thus entirely independent of each other. One of the most interesting for Englishmen is the Thiho Taik, the "Ceylon Monastery," presided over by Lingayāmā, a sadaw who was in great favour with Mindôn Min, the last king but one. The term taik is always applied to a "bishop's monastery," as implying that his is the chief of a number of kyaungs, all under his care, and in which he makes occasional sojourns. The Thiho Taik is peculiar for its trim appearance. It is very new; the under part of all the buildings is of brick; the compound is kept scrupulously clean; there is not a single large tree in it, and the parawun is a neat sawn-wood fence, instead of being, as is the case almost everywhere else, composed simply of huge stems of trees placed side by side in the ground. The sadaw himself is a very enlightened man. He has been several times to Rangoon to worship at the Great Pagoda, and to decide on questions in dispute. He has, in his library, copies of the English Scriptures in the Burmese version of Judson, and has read them through. Numbers of American Baptists' tracts, and the sacred books of other religions, have also a place in his manuscript chests. These are all deposited in a separate building standing in the middle of the enclosure, and used for no other purpose, except that the scribes sit here making copies of borrowed MSS., or setting down notes of the learned bishop himself. The palm-leaf book is still universal, and the work of making up a volume is therefore very laborious; for the most practised manipulator cannot, with his agate style and light strip of palmyra-leaf, exceed the speed of an English boy who has just got over the preliminary difficulties of pot-hooks and hangers. The letters scratched on the leaf are made more distinct by the application of crude earth-oil. This serves to darken the writing, as well as to preserve the book. The regular scribes are always laymen, and it is a matter of very considerable unpleasantness to the cenobites, that the cleverest of them are very often uncommonly bad livers, spending all their gains in libations of "Old Tom," or little

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water at one another till they are tired and the thing begins to seem monotonous. No one escapes; in fact no one would care to get through the three days with dry clothes, for the wetting is considered a compliment. A clerk comes up to his master, shikhos to him, and gravely pours the contents of a silver cup down the back of his neck, saying ye-kadaw mi, "I will do homage to you with water." A polite but less humble form of speech is ye-laung-thi, to "pour" water over; while equals, and the young people generally, yepetthi, "splash" one another with the utmost vigour. It is to be observed that dirty water is never used. The barbaric innovation of squirts is a sign of decadence.

Foreigners do not object to the custom, except perhaps some of the more pompous and stolid natives of India, whose minds are incapable of appreciating a joke in any form whatever. The rollicking Chinaman takes it up with the utmost zeal, and sets about the thing in the most business-like way. The last time I was in Maulmein one of the storekeepers in the main street had rigged up a garden hydrant in front of his house and connected it with the well. A coolie was engaged to work it all day, and a continuous jet of water, sufficient to put out a small conflagration, streamed from the nozzle the entire duration of the feast. Not only was Boon Tek enabled to drench everybody, but he advertised his machines and made a good thing of it.

But the Chinaman was exceeded in zeal by a young Englishman in Prome, not many years ago. He was a Government official, and there were two friends dining with him. A note came round to him from a neighbour in the next street saying that the yepetthi girls were out and would be round his way shortly. So he forthwith made preparations. The Madrasi "boys" got a huge bath tub on to the verandah, and tin pannikins were placed handy, and the dinner proceeded. But unfortunately there was no one put to watch for the arrival of the girls, and the first notice of their appearance was a well-directed stream of water in the nearest man's shirt-front. To sally forth was the work of an instant, but it was found that the tub was in the possession of the enemy, and only served to eke out the abundant

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Knowledge of this latter particular is imperative, and an error of an hour or two makes all the difference in the composition of the potion.

It ought to be unsatisfactory to an intelligent Burman's feelings to think that the man who prescribes for him in a dangerous illness is possibly at the same time mixing cunning draughts for a love-sick maid, or is manufacturing an image of a girl with magical charms and drugs which shall drive the original mad and soothe the vengeful wrath of the rejected suitor. Perhaps it is on this account that a Rangoon Burman, if he falls ill out in the district anywhere, hurries back to town as fast as he can. If he cannot do that, the best thing is to call in a wéza in preference to an unknown doctor; for while the former will probably confine himself to incantations at first, the dietist will irritate all the gastric juices in your body by prescribing some new variety of food, and banning everything you have been accustomed to; while the druggist will cram you to the throat with cathartics and anthelmintics, with arsenic, fungi from bamboo roots, green vitriol, decoctions of lemon grass, borax, croton seeds, and vegetable soot.

The father of Burmese medical science was the celebrated physician Zewaka, who once cured a colic which afflicted the Lord Buddha Gautama, by simply giving him three flowers to smell. Upon the petals were strewn some potent powders which restored perfect health in a few hours. To this good medico is to be ascribed the assertion that the diseases which afflict mankind are ninety-six in number. These may vary in their symptoms according to the thirty-five temperaments, the forty-five accidents, the sixteen dangers, and the four elements, but there are no more than ninety-six wedana for all that. Accordingly, a very common beginning to a formal Burmese letter is to say that by his correspondent's good wishes the writer has been preserved from the ninety-six andayè; the thirty-two kan-chammā, or pieces of bad luck; the twenty-five baya, dangers from assassins, wild beasts, and the like; and finally from aneitta bala, evils of all kinds, envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness: his friend's regard has kept all these things far from him, may the writer's good will be not less efficacious. Therefore it is

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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the guard dispersed the people. Next day, an old lady, who claimed to be the owner of the dog, visited the big Englishman and told him she forgave him. He was barely polite.

Burmans had no trouble with the pigs and dogs. They found their own countrymen much more awkward to meet. There was constantly some prince or mingyi passing along the streets, and then the road had to be immediately cleared, and every one knelt humbly till the great man passed. Any delay in clearing the path, or an imagined want of reverence in the shikhoing, met with very summary punishment. Before every dignitary rushed along a posse of half-naked lictors, yelling out to the people to bow down, and hitting round about them with their fasces and dahs. These masterful ruffians particularly loved to insult Englishmen. During Mindôn's reign an edict was published exempting Englishmen from the necessity of getting down on their knees in the mud and dust, but ordaining that they should lift their hats. The letyataung dearly loved to launch torrents of abuse at their victim, and make him dismount from his pony and remove his hat when the prince was half a block distant. In the spring of 1880 an English mercantile man was actually bullied into going down on his knees. But, as a rule, where it was possible, foreigners turned down a by-street, or into one of the waste plots of ground. This method of avoiding the annoyance was not open to a Burman. If he tried to avoid paying due obeisance, he was denounced as a disaffected man and thrown into jail.

But there were plenty of other obstructions to be met with in the streets of the royal city. Each householder was considered, or considered himself, perfectly at liberty to do what he pleased with the section of the road in front of his house. Accordingly, when the spirit moved him, he calmly blocked the thoroughfare by erecting a temporary theatre for the performance of a pwè. The construction of such a mandut did not take very long. A framework of bamboo was run up and covered in on the roof, and one side with bamboo matting, and all was ready; the stage was the street, and the spectators deposited themselves where they found room. After the three or four days' performance, the stage was pulled down, and the thoroughfare was clear again.

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

III

SOCIAL GROUPS AND RELATIONS

In this section we describe the patterns of kinship and interpersonal relations, the beliefs and customs pertaining to the life cycle of the individual associations, and intergroup relations.*

Kinship

The kinship system reflects very clearly the bilateral family structure in the absence of terminological differentiation on the basis of the sex of the connecting relative. The other outstanding characteristic is the recognition at many points of relative age. For each generation a distinct set of kinship terms is employed. On the speaker's (ego's) generation, all cousins are merged with siblings, the terms being differentiated, however, according to relative age. In the first ascending generation, the parents' siblings are differentiated according to the degree of age relative to the parent. In the first descending generation the factor of relative age loses significance; sex is the sole basis of differentiation of kinship terms, except for separate terms to distinguish the speaker's own children from others. On successive descending generations sex distinction is absent and all relatives of a given generation are subsumed under a single kinship term.

Relative age is the all-important hub upon which the wheel of village social life revolves. Deference to one's elders is reflected in such customs as carrying objects for them, refraining from sitting with one's head higher than those of elders, and avoiding postures in which the feet are extended towards such persons.

Beyond such matters of etiquette, the importance of age is even more fundamentally demonstrated in the showing of obeisance to one's elders. This is done on all the important ceremonial occasions. Four such occasions are regarded as obligatory times for paying one's respects. These are the beginning and the end of Wasa (sometimes called the Buddhist 'Lent'), a period of about three months, roughly from mid-July to mid-October; the New Year; and the harvest. Respect is paid to all of one's elders in the parental generation and above. A visit is made at which an offering, valuable or symbolic, is brought and the elder's blessings are received.

Interpersonal Relations

Husband and Wife. The household is normally composed of husband and wife and their offspring. It is a bilateral, limited type of family structure, contrasting markedly with the patrilineal extended Chinese family and the joint family of India. Unlike the position of the wife in the traditional Chinese and Indian family systems, that of the Burmese wife is not one of an outsider living in a group dominated by her husband's relatives. Where a married couple reside is a matter of choice and is decided very largely on the basis of economic opportunity. When there is such opportunity in the village for an outsider who marries a girl of Tadagale, he is urged to establish their residence there, but there is no particular pressure or feeling about the

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*The material on kinship and the life cycle, with certain changes, was published under the title "Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline" in Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol 7, no 4, 1951, pp. 437-454. The reader interested in the technical details of the kinship terms and a diagrammatic presentation of the kinship system is referred to that article. The author wishes to express his thanks to Mi Mi Khaing for valuable assistance in the compilation and analysis of the material on this aspect of the culture.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

here, not one ever called. I saw only two or three ladies, but not a man at all.'

And my friend, surprised, asked his servant how it was.

'Didn't anyone come to call?' he asked.

'Oh yes,' the servant answered; 'many gentlemen came to call—the officers of the regiment and others. But I told them the thakin was out, and that the thakinma could not see anyone. I sent them all away.'

At the club that evening my friend was questioned as to why in his absence no one was allowed to see his wife. The whole station laughed at him, but I think he and his wife laughed most of all at the careful observances of Burmese etiquette by the servant; for it is the Burmese custom for a wife not to receive in her husband's absence. Anyone who wants to see her must stay outside or in the veranda, and she will come out and speak to him. It would be a grave breach of decorum to receive visitors while her husband is out.

So that even a Burmese woman is not free from restrictions — restrictions which are merely rules founded upon experience. No woman, no man, can ever free herself or himself from the bonds that even a young civilization demands. A freedom from all restraint would be a return, not only to savagery, but to the condition of animals—nay, even animals are bound by certain conventions.

The higher a civilization, the more conventions are required; and freedom does not mean an absence of rules, but that all rules should be founded on experience and common sense.

Basic Burmese Concepts of Health and Sickness.

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The Burmese regard health as the best of all earthly blessings. Although Buddha referred to the living body as a decaying corpse, which it was folly to feed, he recognised the necessity for bodily health in order to carry out the all-important mental activities connected with the Buddhist religion. It is then essential for each person to be as physically and mentally sound as he is able. The forces governing health and sickness are both supernatural and natural each with its own set of medical specialists. The specialists are called for only when the case is far advanced there being an extensive lore of home precautions and curative practices. In general, disorders caused by nats and ghosts (supernatural) or magic are recognized by their sudden, catastrophic or otherwise unusual nature, and are both instigated and cured by magical means. The natural disorders are caused by weaknesses in the constitution of the patient, foreign bodies, dangerous foods and such-like means, and are cured through knowledge of medical principles. The germ concept of disease is completely lacking, although when foreign matter is seen, as mosquito larvae in water, it is frequently regarded as unhealthy. The western idea of omnipresent harmful bacteria is regarded as fantastic in being contrary to observation - "our ancestors have lived for countless generations in these surroundings which you regard as dangerous", they will say. There are some 80 different kinds of PO MYOSHA or harmful ingredients that can infect the body. These range from undesirable ingredients in food to mystical influences that rise in the teeth to cause tooth-ache. The cleanliness of the Burmese, as seen in their several daily baths and emphasis on clean clothes, is not out of regard for "hygenic" reasons, but rather for social reasons. One must look his best in public so as not to give offense to the eye or nose. The sick person is never washed since cold water would have the effect of driving the fever-heat inward to a fatal degree. The date for resumption of bathing for the convalescent is carefully considered; mistakes can result in relapse and death. Cool breezes must be avoided by the sick person for similar reasons. The house doors closed during the day invariably mean sickness within.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* 522 was introduced. The clowns were usually males, though later a female clown-attendant of the princess occasionally appeared. The clown was so popular that he continued to appear as an extra character even when the plays of the great dramatists came to be produced later. He was essentially outside the play. He made up his own part, he invented his own dialogue, and made up his jokes as the play moved along. However, even with the *Nibhatkhin*, he was not allowed to interfere with the movement of the play and its story. He played and joked at the beginning of the first scene when the actual story had not begun, he gave sometimes an outline of the story and its sources, and he gave information regarding the production of the procession and the play. He was the most privileged person among the actors, for he alone could without offence laugh at, and satirize, all things and all persons.

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536* 796 522 178 However, the clown was essentially unconnected with the actual story, and soon the actual characters came to be burlesqued. As the devil in the English miracle plays, the villain of the *Nibhatkhin* (in the Birth Stories, the villain was a previous incarnation of Devadat who repeatedly tried to harm the Buddha) became a humorous and popular character. The Burmese love of humour and gentle satire would have turned the whole *Nibhatkhin* into pure farce had not a convention arisen with regard to the presentation of religious characters. The Buddha was never to be represented on the stage. Stories about him up to the time he actually attained Buddhahood could be presented, but no one should impersonate him when he had become the Buddha. It was soon followed by another convention that the character of an *arahat* (saint) should not be presented unless it was absolutely necessary, and then only when the part was to be taken by an able and 'serious' actor, who must be actually keeping a fast on the day and night the *Nibhatkhin* was being presented. As a person keeping a fast has to behave in a dignified manner, that convention prevented the part from being turned into a humorous one.

With all these developments, people did not forget that the *Nibhatkhin* was essentially a religious show presented in connexion with religious festivals, and therefore further development was impossible. The conservatism of the village, the dislike of the amateur actors to be in any way profane or thought to be so, the restricted scope of the stories and the characters, all prevented any further development of the religious drama as such.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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25. GAME OF SITOPPYIT.

Burman average stands midway between those of Ireland and Austria on the one hand, and Italy and Spain on the other. (Report of the Census of 1891.)

The boys at the monastery-school (*kyaung-tha*) do the domestic work—sweep the floors and enclosures, attend upon the recluses, and help in collecting the daily food. Some scholars live at the *kyaung*, others have the morning meal there, others again have their meals at home. The recluse exacts no deference from his scholar, but nevertheless receives from all lay persons a spontaneous homage identical with that accorded to royal personages. In the *kyaung* the lads acquire the good breeding of their country, for it is among the recluses that the élite of the race is to be sought. In the stage next to be described, the lad completes this training, by himself sharing in the deference paid to the yellow robe, which he assumes for a season as novice. The monastery-schools are open all the year, but have a large attendance only in the rainy season or *wā*.

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Besides the monastic public schools there are private schools kept by laymen and occasionally also by women, in which girls as well as boys are taught. The subjects and methods are the same, but more time is given to arithmetic. The rules of thumb of the Indian *bodin* are being superseded by modern arithmetic, by help of the vernacular manual prepared by the missionary Stilson. A small fee is paid the lay teacher in money or in kind. Out of hours, the lay-school pupils are of use at their homes, minding their little brothers and sisters.

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The training begun in youth is never broken off. Study is a chief occupation of middle and advanced age. The teacher—*sayā*—clerical or lay, is reverenced,

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26. CYCLE RACE.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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27. SHINLAUNG RENEWING HIS PRAYER.

the world, but not from observation by the world. Great as is the homage accorded to him by the laity, a recluse who should disgrace his cloth—a thing almost unknown — would be promptly unfrocked by them.

For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered (No. 29). He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabèit* from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *Theja*, nor occupy a higher place with respect to men (p. 72). Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery (No. 41).

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28. GOYIN MAKING OBEISANCE.

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Those probationers who remain in the monastery for several years—reckoned by Lents (*wa*)—and who aspire to full membership of the Assembly, read with the recluse Pâli texts of the Tripitaka, and the commentaries on these, and commit portions, sometimes whole books of the canon, to memory. Recluses of standing and also laymen take part in these exercises.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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159. CHILDREN AT THE RIVER SIDE (p. 81).

Every stranger, man or woman, is addressed *K'mbyá*—sir, madam. There is a courteous address for nearly every relation in life. Children, in speaking to their parents, grandparents, uncles, and aunts say *Shin* and *Daw*—lord, lady; wife to husband, *Shin;* husband to wife, *Byo, Bya*—terms of endearment; younger brother or sister to elder, *Go, Maung-dyí;* elder brother to younger *Maung;* brothers to sisters, *Ma. Maung* and *Ma* (brother and sister) have become the ordinary prefixes to names, answering to our Mr., Mrs., Miss. These are used even by parents to their grown-up children. To inferiors and in disparagement, the plain *nga, mè, mi* are used. Middle-aged men are given the address *Go*, and old men that of *Ú* (uncle), which is also the prefix to the *ŏzwè* of the *yahán*. Great regard is conveyed by the address *Sayá*—teacher, master. The honorific word for wife is *gadáw*, thus—*sayá-gadáw, min-gadáw*. To royalty the addresses were *Gódaw*—[illegible] self; *Ashin-Payá*—lord of lords; *Pón-daw-dyí*—of great glory. These titles came to be used for ministers and governors, as more euphemistic ones were devised for the kings. The same addresses are accorded by courtesy to the *yahán*, who on their part address the layman as *Tagá, Tagádaw*—supporter, great founder. The layman refers to himself as *tabyí-daw*—the honoured disciple. In other relations of life, other periphrases are used for the pronouns of the first and second persons. The plain *I* and *you* — *ugá, nin* — are only used in disparagement. Thus the current phrase for *I* is *tyunbè*—the humble servant. (For women, *tyunma.*) In addressing superiors, the phrase is *tyundáw, Payá-tyundáw*

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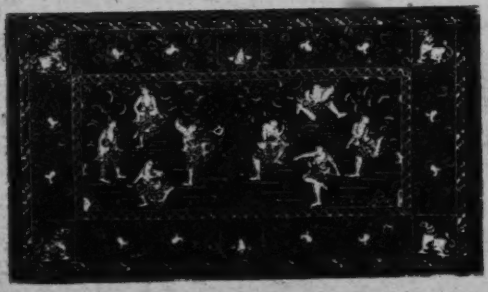

160. CHINLON GAME—APPLIQUE WORK (p. 179).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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181. CHILDREN'S TUBS AT FLOOD-TIME (p. 81)

—the slave, his lordship's humble servant. There are special honorific terms for the coming and going, eating and sleeping of royalty and of the *yahán*. The most coveted titles or appellations are those of *kyaung-tagâ*, *Payátagâ* — founder of a school, founder of a temple. The first of these is given by courtesy to persons of venerable age. The great increase of prosperity has given a corresponding impetus to the founding of such works, so that the *tagâ* are more numerous than ever before. The private foundations are on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. At no period has Buddhism shone throughout the land in such resplendence as now. Personal titles and badges (*sahwé*, No. 31) used to be given by the kings. Small dignities and offices have been hereditary in many places. Nevertheless, no aristocracy has developed. One of these titles was *Thaklu* (master, lord), now assumed by all Europeans in the same way as "*sahib*" in India. Despite the punctilio in address, greetings are unusual between equals. After absence, a mere "Here you are again" and an inquiry about health—*ma-e-lâ?* At departure, "I'm off," "You're going"—*thwa dawmè*. There is nothing answering to the established *salâm* or to our "Good day," "Good-bye." The verbal salutation to the *yahán*, after obeisance, is *Gôdaw-mya thâppâyá pyippa-e lâ*—is your Grace duly provided with the canonical

168. CARVING OF CHINLON PLAYER (pp. 18, 179)

169. THE PADYA SHRINE (p. 188)

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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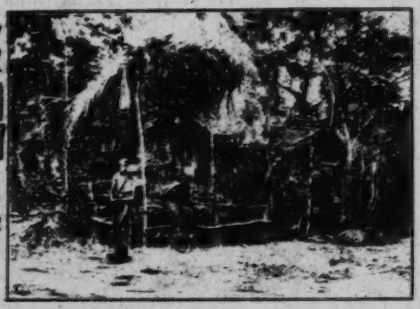

164. FOREST ZAYAT AND WATER-STAND (P. 63).

requirements? To which the *yahán* cordially responds, *pyippa, pyippa, tagádaw*—that I am, my valued supporter! Just as salutations are ordinarily omitted, so thanks are only expressed for special favours. The sense of obligation is conveyed by adopting courteous forms of speech, in which the particle *ba* always figures. The set forms of *please* and *thank you* are thus dispensed with. Where, however, a disparity of age or position exists, every act of the superior becomes by courtesy a boon. A Burman is disconcerted by a simple present, as well as by *bakshish* and payments above the stipulation, which he is particular to make beforehand. But when approaching a superior with a request, the inferior bears an offering of courtesy, generally fruit. The inferior makes *shikò* both on approaching and taking leave. A Burman does not stand, in the presence of his superior, but squats down. When he has occasion to pass close to his superior, he does not walk erect but crouches. By well-bred Burmans the gestures of respect are performed in a very graceful manner. Every Burman, the *yahán* not excepted, on ascending the *kyaunding* of a house, removes his sandals or shoes. As we Westerns respect the *roof* that our host has provided by doffing our head-gear, so Easterns respect the *floor* that is provided—an observance of a practical nature where the floor serves both for seat and table. In an analogous way to our greeting with the hat, the Oriental shows respect by slipping the sandals even outside the house. Still more courteous is the practice of washing the feet before entering a house or *kyaung*. Burmans always contrive to sit so as to hide the soles of the feet or to turn them

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165. RECEIVING A VISITOR.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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168. VILLAGE CHEVAUX-DE-FRISE.

away from the company. In a similar spirit of courtesy a rider dismounts and umbrellas are closed. Among acts of discourtesy few are accounted so grave by the Burmans as that of awakening a sleeper. The reluctance to disturb a sleeper is connected with the belief that the spirit (*leippya*) leaves the body during sleep (p. 197). It is looked upon as a weakness to show resentment and temper (*dawtha*, p. 44). A visitor in a house is offered a new mat to sit upon, water to drink, betel to chew, and a spittoon. If it be meal-time he is invited to partake; otherwise he is asked if he has had food, and refreshment is brought. Although the quota of leisure that falls to everyone is greater in Burma than anywhere else, owing to the wide-spread prosperity of the inhabitants, there is perhaps no country in which every man, woman, and child is less exempt from business concern. Thus it happens that after a few commonplaces, conversation inevitably gravitates to business—prices, harvests, prospects. Next in interest come the festival programmes, the local celebrities and their doings. In every house there are scales and weights, and the household is engaged in occasional or regular trade. Accounts in money and kind are current between neighbours. Whatever spare produce remains is exposed for sale.

The villages either have a quick fence of impenetrable thorny bamboo (*myinwa*), or a hedge of cactus and briar or bamboo *chevaux-de-frise*. In some parts they are open. The old towns (*myó*) had ramparts and stockades (Nos. 6, 371, 387). The highest sites about the village are for the *zedi*, the *Payá-myo* or sacred ground, the next best are for the *kyaung*. Then comes the enclosure of

167. APPROACH TO THE VILLAGE.

341 family (in the year 1887), the Burmese rejects the idea of covering his house with princely trimmings in the manner of the occidental upstart. He prefers to adopt European comfort directly. Now the display of greater luxury no longer jeopardizes property and life, as in the days of Burmese despotism when one had to guard against the avarice of princes and powerful officials.

342 The Burmese dwelling, the simple hut just as
● 576 the resplendent palace and monastery, has only one storey. Of course we must disregard innovations which gradually encroach, through occidental influence. The main reason probably lies in the belief of the people that it is undignified to stay under the feet of others. This would be particularly unbecoming for monks; in a modern two storey brick building in Mandalay which had once belonged to a Burmese princess, I saw a separate staircase, specially built for visiting monks which led directly from the entrance over the ground floor into the upper storey.

342 The size and the layout of the house (3)

3. About the construction of the Burmese house: Gazeteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States (Rangoon, 1900/01), Part I, /205/ Vol. 2, pp. 161 ff., M. and B. Ferrars, Burma, 2nd ed. (London, 1901), pp. 56 ff.; Shway Yoe (Scott), "The Burman, His Life and Notions," 3rd ed. (London, 1910), pp. 76 ff. The above-mentioned Gazeteer, a very informative and important work, will always be quoted below as UBG.

varies in accordance with the needs and the /205/ means of the occupants. The average Burmese house (Plate IV, 1) has its entrance from the broad side which faces the street. There, a veranda (zayanta) projects, which is raised only a little above the ground and which usually ex-